

Notes from a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal



book three

We Fell Only To Rise Again

Notes From A New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal: Book Three

These are
Notes for the righteous
and for those who strive
to be...

We fell only to rise again!

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And just think
Some bloods still ask "where is the nation"
as if it should drop from the sky

Others, being more scientific, look for
evidence of the nation in the archives of
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 kidnapping and colonialism (most
 commonly called "chattel slavery")
where the stark reality is unclear to bloods
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after truly awakening from the nightmare
and realizing that the nation is themselves
and like all others has to exist by
choice

 and be free to develop
 free of kidnappers and the
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independent nations must be just
that, and the full reality of any nation
can only be recognized when its
self-governing

 national oppression, bloods is what keeps
 existence of the nation in
 question

 its liberation and development depends on
you
 it requires a choice.

Thoughts On The Eve Of A New Year -- 15 ADM

Moving forward and upward requires going among the masses wherever they are. Whether We claim roles labeled "political" or "military," in our preparation for People's War, We must go to the schools, the workplaces, the hospitals, each city block and the rural areas, so that We reach people and agitate, educate and organize.

Personalities, the names of our organizations, whether We are "the party" or "the army" is not important. **PRACTICE** is what's happening -- building bases, implementing programs on every issue affecting the New Afrikan masses.

We're tempted to say that "building" bases is something We don't have to do, because in a real sense, the people are the bases and they are all-ready there...waiting.

But, "building" means systematic organization. It means raising consciousness and bringing people together. To **TAKE** consciousness from one level to the next. "People's War" is the building of consciousness, and it reflects consciousness. The key is "motion," consciously directed and constantly enriched.

All the things We do are aimed at raising consciousness. A bomb can agitate, educate and organize just as well as a pamphlet. In fact, a bomb will work where the pamphlet fails. A New Afrikan Students Union at the enemy-controlled school is just as much a weapon of People's War as the silenced pistol.

"Creating the atmosphere for People's War" means sitting for hours at meetings discussing how to start a People's Clinic, or how to initiate a Salvage Drive on aluminum cans as a way of raising funds and **REACHING PEOPLE**. it means sending two cadres into a housing project to talk to folks and help them come up with a way of bringing folks there together in struggle around some aspect of their lives, and guiding that struggle along a revolutionary path.

Organizing the masses means not waiting for them, but going among them to systematize the unsystematic, to build bases in hearts and minds, to help folks "recognize their present conditions as a social phenomenon rather than 'individual misfortune' or an act of god."

A line is proven valid not by argument alone, but when significant numbers of people follow it and transform reality with it. This will happen not because of smooth delivery, but because We have educated and organized them.

We don't "consolidate" by inducing cadres from other organizations, nor by a practice of our skill in bourgeois manipulation and intrigue. It's not - really - a "party" that directs the gun and controls the army, but an ideology, theory, line and strategy.

Consolidation is a process, and it involves a struggle; it involves the *fusion* of many parts into a single whole. It involves the creation of a single ideological and theoretical perspective, a single political line and practice, a better distribution and coordination of work, and better results from this work.

The structure of a center of gravity is determined by requirements of struggle, by need and by objective and subjective reality. Also, by

recognizing that the "political" motives and methods of all "military" actions in themselves remove any pre-supposed divorce between "political" and "military" leadership.

"In a situation like this, where a country is in a state of war and the army inevitably has very extensive powers, there is a potential danger of conflict between the military and civilian organizations. In our system, though, this is minimized by the fact that they are both answerable to the political body of FRELIMO, *which is itself composed both of military and civilian personnel.* (our emphasis) The relationship of the political, military and civilian bodies is not one which can be described in terms of a neat hierarchy, where one is subordinated to the other. Policy decisions are made by the political body, the supreme organ of which is the Central Committee. The army, like the various departments, works in conformity with the decisions made by the Central Committee; but the army leaders themselves, as members of the Central Committee, also help to make these policy decisions..."

(The Struggle For Mozambique, Eduardo Mondlane, pg. 153)

We can come together to form a center (in which there is no "divorce"), or We can continue to "struggle" along our separate and ineffective ways until the "fittest" survives, and We come back to this step on a higher level, at some point in the future.

The inevitable means of identifying the center, of achieving and proving consolidation, is not by name, position or veteran status, but by helping to solve the problems We are confronted with as an oppressed nation, a stumbling Movement. Moving the Movement, the masses, and the struggle forward is what determines the character and composition of the center.

The process of building bases and answering questions is what will allow our leadership to emerge, be forged and identified. It will be "national" in at least two ways: 1) truly representing the needs and aspirations of a genuine broad mass of our people; 2) it will emerge from various parts of the country and "be from" different organizations. Its first and most important task will be to link, to put together and become a strong and effective ideological and organizational center. It will be a leadership that leads politically in the "broad" sense of the term.

What is meant here is that to "lead politically" is to lead in all areas of concern -- economically, socio-culturally, militarily, and "politically." It means to be able to move from the basis of a national strategy or general line which embraces and utilizes all resources, operates in all spheres of the lives of our people. "Strategy," in this sense, is not simply the art of the "general," but the art of our nation's leadership, of our Movement's center of gravity.

This art is practiced by those who come to devise and implement a general line/national strategy which employs all the various forms of struggle, and recognizes that one of these forms **characterizes** the struggle. That which determines which of these forms characterizes our struggle is the nature of the primary contradiction.

The facts make it unnecessary for us to prove that the essential instrument of imperialist domination is violence. If we accept the principle that the *liberation struggle is a revolution...* we will see that there is not, and cannot be national liberation without the use of liberating violence by the nationalist forces, to answer the criminal violence of the agents of imperialism. Nobody can doubt that, whatever its local characteristics, imperialist domination implies a state of permanent violence against the nationalist forces...The important thing is to determine which forms of violence have to be used by the national liberation forces in order not only to answer the violence of imperialist but also to ensure through the struggle the final victory of their cause, true national independence. The past and present experiences of various peoples, the present situation of national liberation struggles in the world...as well as the situation of permanent violence, or at least of contradictions and upheavals, in certain countries which have gained their independence by the so-called peaceful way, show us not only that compromises with imperialism do not work, but also that the normal way of national liberation, imposes on peoples by imperialist repression, is *armed struggle*.

(Revolution In Guinea, Amilcar Cabral, pages 107-108)

Aside from reaching the understanding that "armed struggle" does not mean something purely "military," We need to reach new understandings of the "violence" used by our forces. When We discuss the forms of "violence" to be used in our struggle, it may help if We consider that:

Violence may manifest and exert itself in various forms. In a nutshell, we may say, revolutionary violence must rely on two kinds of force, armed and political, and include two forms of struggle, military and political, and a combination of these two...However, the use of violence does not rest solely with the armed forces, nor does it only assume the form of military struggle. Political forces and political struggle are indispensable, for success cannot be won by military action and armed forces alone. It goes without saying that not all forms of political struggle are violent. The only actions that may be considered so are the revolutionary actions undertaken by the masses outside the bounds of the state laws of the ruling class and directly aimed at overthrowing the ruling class and seizing power for the people, once the question of political power has been raised. Revolutionary violence aimed at overthrowing the ruling class must necessarily be the violence of the broad masses who are oppressed and exploited...The best and most revolutionary method is the circumstances and can successfully mobilize the power of the masses against the ruling class, bringing about victory for the revolution under the most favorable conditions...(**"Principles and Methods of Revolutionary Action,"** by Le Duan, This Nation And Socialism Are One)

This should help prevent us from assuming a "divorce" of political and military actions, and of leadership. Making a determination of the forms of violence - revolutionary violence - to be used, clearly involves two kinds of force, two forms of struggle - two forms of Revolutionary Violence.

The question of political - state - power is being raised now, and must be raised more widely, intensely and *creatively*. The determination to employ either form of Revolutionary Violence, according to the concrete situation prevailing in a given time and place, is made by a leadership which is "simultaneously political and military." It is a genuine, national leadership, the Movement's center of gravity, operating through a "political" body composed of "military" and "political" personnel.

So, to say that "normal way of national liberation is armed struggle" is to point out that form which characterizes, and which has a primary strategic importance.

If Revolutionary Violence involves political and military forces and forms of struggle, We can understand better that "armed struggle" also employs political and military forces and forms of struggle. Revolutionary People's War employs both political and military forces and forms of struggle.

Armed struggle, just as People's War, has a **mass** character. It is a process, a qualitative state sought through the use of revolutionary violence. Armed struggle demands political education and organization of the masses, as well as "armed clandestine organs" carrying out armed actions. Armed struggle is coordinated by the center of gravity, by the apparatus of revolutionary violence, and in its most developed stages is carried out by the masses.

Thus, to employ revolutionary violence, to be able to prepare for armed struggle, wage People's War, is to demonstrate ideological clarity, and the organization, efficiency, discipline, political imagination and methodology We need to insure the development and coordination of the Movement and struggle.

But what of the center of gravity "composed of the leading group or groups"? Will - must - the center of gravity be a group, or will it be groups? What do the historically imposed tasks and our subjective conditions have to say on the question of whether the center must/can/will be formed by a single groups, or by a combination of groups, in the form of a front, or of a newly consolidated formation?

Making the choice between *party* or *front* involves an analysis of the present. If We are in a period where there are *parties* or where *the* party is present, does our preparation for the future, for the move from this point to another, call for a "greater unity" among ourselves, a greater coordination and/or consolidation? Or does our analysis of our needs say that We must pursue "independent" tests of our line and practice "until conditions change"?

Evidence of our ability to create the center, and of our progress in doing so, is seen in the answering of questions which presently prevent forward motion. One of those questions is: are We in a *party* or *pre-party*, a *front*, or *pre-front* period?

Checking the real world tells us that:

-We are a "Movement" characterized by a multiplicity of organizations (sometimes called "parties") which are essentially locally based, small, weak politically and materially, and without meaningful bases among our people; our present great dependence upon others for resources is directly related to our shortage of cadres, the low levels of consciousness among the masses and within our own ranks, our lack of initiative and direction in moving to resolve this situation and begin to seriously plant our roots among the masses;

-our "Movement" lacks ideological clarity, a clear and imposing definition of Revolutionary Nationalism, and, consequently, is an ill-defined "Movement";

-We spend more energy in intra-Movement squabbling than in carrying on essential ideological struggle and development, or in devising and implementing **programs** - the best means of testing theory, raising levels of practice, validating lines, recruiting and training cadres, and of educating and organizing the masses;

-our organizations or parties share in common an uneven development among leadership and cadres. And, in our multiplicity, We collectively represent a "Movement" without a national strategy/general line that will make it possible for us to collectively -- as a genuine and effective **Movement** -- tackle all the questions and tasks that confront us;

-We represent at present a "Movement" which seemingly fails to understand the importance of a general line, a national strategy which responds to needs and aspirations on economic, military, political and international levels. Such a shared general/strategic line is what makes for the prime condition for unity or consolidation, for the creation of a center of gravity.

It's bit ironic that We gaze out on a "Movement" which clearly lacks a real center, and place the blame for "our failure to unite" on a narrowly defined "sectarianism." We fail to grasp that underlying our "failure to unite" and allowing for continued "sectarianism" is our presence in a period in which there's a lack of correct forms of practice through which to test the competing lines, thus allowing each line to claim equal value.

A shared general line, a real **Movement**-held national strategy, would manifest a united leadership, based upon a scientific evaluation of our principal contradiction and objective, rather than upon personalities. It will further evaluate all the subjective elements which help us define interests, identify primary obstacles, determine which alliances to make and how to make them, the means by which to put ideology into practice, to make our line a material force taken up by the masses. This shared line becomes the foundation for all programs, and distinguishes the Revolutionary Nationalist, New Afrikan Independence Movement -- which is to say, it distinguishes the center of gravity.

Thus, it's the formulation of this shared line, the creation thereby of the center of gravity, which is the process We now enter -- is the principal task historically imposed upon us.

The formulation of a line, which identifies the center of gravity, and is tested in practice through all forms of agitation, education and organization. This process reaches its high point when We notice the ideology, the line and strategy, being fused with the localized mass movements around issues of food, clothing, shelter, and the need to respond to acts of criminal violence -- around issues of national survival, of revolution and the creation of the New Society.

From One Generation To The Next,

Build To Win!
Free The Land!
Atiba Shanna
Feb., 14ADM

Are We Asking The Right Questions?

The november, 1979 issue of **Arm The Spirit** carried an article by Comrade-Brother Richard Dhoruba Moore titled "The Need for Unity In Building Any National Black Prisoners' Organization".

The article was timely, and in his usual clear and effective style, our Brother has provided us with another example of the sharp analytical methods We must employ with greater ability and regularity. Indeed, our Movement must be guided by a correct and clearly defined political line if We are to assure ourselves of victory. It is in this spirit that the following thoughts are offered.

As Brother Dhoruba pointed out in his article, our Movement has been -- and is -- characterized by a lack of concrete class consciousness; a lack of sufficiently developed and consistently applied scientific methods of analysis and political struggle.

It should be noted that the above point and others made in our Brother's article apply to the entire Movement -- a Movement in which a national black prisoners' organization would be a part of.

Because of this fact, it is very difficult to deal with questions concerning a "prisoners' organization" without dealing with the same questions as they relate to the overall organization of our Movement and struggle.

With few changes in its content, Dhoruba's article could have been titled "The Need for Unity In Building Any National Black Party", or, "The Need for Unity in Building Any National Black United Front", and We would still offer these thoughts, with little or no change. Essentially, what's being dealt with are the questions of "identity, purpose, and direction".

Who Are We, those of us who would build a national "black" prisoners organization? There is much hard evidence to show that as each day passes, more and more "black" prisoners identify themselves as **New Afrikans**, and work on behalf of the **New Afrikan Independence Movement**.

Despite the questions any of us may raise concerning them, two of the things which define our Movement and guide it, are the **New Afrikan Declaration of Independence** and the **New Afrikan Creed**.

Our **Declaration of Independence** states, in part, that We, "in consequence of our inextinguishable determination to go a different way, to build a new and better world, do hereby declare ourselves free and independent of the jurisdiction of the united states of amerikkka and the obligations which that country's unilateral decision to make our ancestors and ourselves paper-citizens placed on us."

When We pledge ourselves to the **New Afrikan Creed**, We do so with the belief that "the fundamental reason our oppression continues is that We, as a people, lack the power to control our lives," and that "the fundamental way to gain that power, and end oppression, is to build a sovereign black nation."

Have these beliefs changed? Unless and until this question is raised, We do all our study and work based upon them. We are guided by the strategic objective of winning sovereignty for our nation, to build

a new, socialist society, and to "support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free." (Declaration of Independence)

If an organization is to be built by those who identify themselves as New Afrikans, whether a national ("black") prisoners organization, or a national and/or local ("black") students', or tenants' organization, it must rest on a foundation of the New Afrikan **Declaration of Independence** and the New Afrikan **Creed**. These are integral parts of our ideological framework, and it upon this foundation that all else rests - - unity included.

It's our belief that We are presently placing undue emphasis on questions such as "Why do We continue to let sectarianism prevent us from uniting around common programs?" and "Why do We continue to fail to practice the principles of Unity?"

The emphasis being placed on such questions at the present time demonstrates a tendency to confuse "sectarianism" with what may more correctly be fundamental differences in ideology, line and strategy. They tend to present the question of "unity" as if it exists in a vacuum, in the abstract, in the realm of the ideal. The "principles of unity" have a material basis, and they arise from and must adhere to an *analysis* of concrete reality. And results of analysis can change, depending on the analytical tools We use, the ideological and theoretical perspective We view reality from.

We can't do enough to stress the importance of this point: Our Movement is definitely confronted with "historically imposed tasks", but such tasks must be approached on a foundation of ideology, theory, line and strategy. It often happens that even our determination of which tasks are "historically imposed" at any given time and place, which of these are primary and which are secondary, is governed by the foundation of ideology, theory, line and strategy. It's on this foundation that We begin all analyses, view all questions and tasks and move to resolve them. It is also this foundation upon which rests all unified efforts.

An attempt was not long ago made to form a "united front" around the historically imposed task of building a national "black" prison organization. It was to provide close coordination and planning, mutual assistance and program development aimed at achieving common goals and objectives. The effort failed, and We must not simply lay the cause of the failure at the doors of "sectarianism" and the "failure to practice the principles of unity" without a deeper analysis or the posing and answering of old and new questions.

ALL PROPOSALS ARE NOT OF EQUAL VALUE

Within united fronts and even bodies brought together to make unified efforts toward common goals, We usually have a "unity of opposites"—contending ideologies, class stands, political lines and strategies. There must inevitably be a dominant ideology, class stand, line and strategy. There is struggle within the front, despite the unified effort being made on the basis of an (assumed) common program of struggle. The only way for such struggle not to occur, or for there to be an absence of a dominant ideology, line and strategy, would be if an equilibrium between all forces existed and remained static. The presence of historically imposed tasks, of a relative consensus recognizing these tasks, and of a tentative willingness and/or agreement to engage in

unified efforts around common program to realize these tasks, does not negate ideological and class struggle inside the front.

While the unity of a front, or even the unity We establish around "common programs" does not imply uniformity, it does imply careful consideration of the fact that all forces involved in the effort approach it from different levels of interest and commitment. The interests of some forces will be basically the same, while the interests of other forces will meet only to a certain extent. While all forces will put forth that they're coming together "for the common interests" they will also be coming together for what they recognize as their own interests. Further, and one of the most important factors to consider, is that the "common" interests will be viewed by the respective forces FROM THEIR OWN PERSPECTIVE.

It's our belief that one of the major tasks before us now is to check out in greater depth the common program(s) and each of the forces that claim to relate to it/them.

For instance, let's check out the character, the "identity, purpose and direction" of a national "black" prisoner organization, or, in other words, of a nationally organized body of NEW AFRIKAN prisoners, e.g., imprisoned New Afrikans; imprisoned New Afrikan Independence Movement cadres and potential cadres.

WHY would We build such an organization? What would its purpose be? How would it go about fulfilling this purpose? What would be this organization's relationship to the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and to the "center of gravity" of the Movement?

Our analysis should also include each of the forces able to reach a consensus on the above questions. We should check thoroughly each proposal and the efforts put forth to realize them by the respective forces; the extent to which resources are acquired, how they are acquired, and how allocated; the level of priority given by each force to realization of the effort.

It's by dealing in such areas as these that We formulate, and confirm possession of, the fundamental criteria for initiating and joining with other in unified efforts around COMMON program. We base ourselves on the extent to which We actually have common ideology, theory, line and strategy—and class stand; the extent to which the potential exists for greater unity in these areas. We begin to take "unity" out of the abstract, and the forms that our organized, unified efforts will take begins here to assume concrete form on a material basis.

It's also here that We begin to determine the extent to which the unified effort(s) will achieve its objective. In other words, We recognize that while there's a "strategy" for building the organization, its creation is itself a means to an even-more-strategic objective. Building the organization is a mean of re-building the entire Movement and of aiding the success of the Movement's objective—the independence and socialist development of the Republic of New Afrika. The "strategy" for building the organization is a "limited" strategy, one aspect of a more general strategy, put forth at a particular period in the development of the struggle.

From here We move to the question of maintaining and strengthening the unit of the unified effort—on a principled basis. The methods We use primarily are ideological struggle, criticism and self-criticism. A failure to employ these methods and to make an analysis similar to that

described, is what will determine the future impact of the Movement in coming periods and stages of struggle.

If We seek to initiate and maintain "unity at any cost", a "good-getting-along/all unity, no struggle" form, We embark upon a liberal and/or opportunist path. If our fear of "not working in unity" outweighs our responsibility to formulate a clear line and build a sound, politically distinct Movement, then We also abandon all claims to revolutionary science.

One result of principled ideological struggle, of principled criticism and self-criticism, of the effort to develop clarity on political line and thus give more definite shape to the NEW AFRIKAN Independence Movement, may well be the surfacing of differing tendencies and the heightening of contradictions between them; the exposure of weaknesses, undesirable elements and the failure of unified efforts. But such a situation should not be feared.

Again, in this context, "unity" is a means, not an end in itself. Principled and effective unity must be based on clear and firm positions on questions confronting us at any particular period in the development of the struggle; mutual and enforceable accountability to ideology, principles, strategy and programs. Struggling for unity today, posing and answering the questions upon which it will be based, shapes the overall conditions in which We'll find ourselves tomorrow. The differing trends or contradictions between surfaced and sharpened tendencies which arise while giving organizational form to our unified efforts actually serve to strengthen these efforts, add clarity and cohesion to the Movement, and consequently benefit rather than harms the struggle for the independence of New Afrika.

Finally, We reach the question of "sectarian control", which in practice usually turns out to be a question of "leadership" and of who will be "subordinate" to who. From all said above, it's clear that "leadership" is not determined simply by accumulated experience, veteran status, how many waves of repression We've survived, or by geography. To determine leadership, We look first to theory and practice. From One Generation To the Next,

Build To Win!
Free The Land!

Atiba Shanna
Dec., 14ADM

From One Generation To The Next!

Ours is a struggle with continuity, unbroken except occasionally in our own minds. We have, and must continue to struggle from one generation to the next; evolving in time and space, a people in motion, regaining independence and making history.

Ours is a mass struggle, a people's struggle, a struggle involving the participation of the young and the old, the female and the male. Ours is the struggle of an entire people, a whole nation oppressed and moving toward a new way of life on a planet made mad by greed and fear.

Our struggle involves our elders, the refugees who were forced to abandon the National Territory, head north and northwest, during the "migrations."

They were REFUGEES, those who "migrated" from the National Territory during the WWI and WWII years. Our elders were REFUGEES during the years of the "Black Codes" when they fled the National Territory.

The cities of amerikkka are full of New Afrikan refugees who entered them during the '30's, the '40's, escaping the klan and the southern prison. One step ahead of the hounds, a few minutes ahead of the lynch mob is how many New Afrikans came north. Refugees, from the National Territory.

New Afrikans now living in Peoria, Brooklyn, Oakland and Des Moines, were born in Clarksdale, Mississippi, and Greensboro, North Carolina. Twelve-year-old bloods boarded trains in New Orleans, Mobile and Atlanta, loaded with stained brown paper bags of cold chicken, cardboard suitcases, and dreams of big cities where work was available and where white folks weren't so mean.

New Afrikan women who cooked in big pots for white folks in Charleston, came to New York and Chicago only to cook in "greasy spoons" or in the quiet kitchens of more white folks, for the same few dollars a week and all the left-overs they could carry.

"What of our Past? What of our History? What of our Future?"

"i can imagine the pain and the strength of my great great grandmothers who were slaves and my great great grandmothers who were Cherokee Indians trapped on reservations. i remembered my great grandmother who walked everywhere rather than sit in the back of the bus. i think about North Carolina and my home town and i remember the women of my grandmother's generation: strong, fierce women who could stop you with a look out the corners of their eyes. Women who walked with majesty; who could wring a chicken's neck and scale a fish. Who could pick Cotton, plant a garden and sew without a pattern. Women who boiled clothes white in big black cauldrons and who hummed work songs and lullabys. Women who visited the elderly, made soup for the sick and shortnin bread for the babies.

"Women who delivered babies, searched for healing roots and brewed medicines. Women who darned sox and chopped wood and layed bricks. Women who could swim rivers and shoot the head off a snake. Women who took passionate responsibility for their children and for their neighbor's children too.

"The women in my grandmother's generation made giving an art form. 'Here, gal, take this pot of collards to Sister Sue'; 'Take this bag of pecans to school for the teacher'; 'Stay here while i go tend Mister Johnson's leg'. Every child in the neighborhood ate in their kitchens. They called each other 'Sister' because of feeling rather than as the result of a movement. They supported each other through the lean times, sharing the little they had.

"The women of my grandmother's generation in my home town trained their daughters for womanhood. They taught them to give respect and to demand respect. They taught their daughters how to churn butter; how to use elbow grease. They taught their daughters to respect the strength of their bodies, to lift boulders and how to kill a hog; what to do for colic, how to break a fever and how to make a poultice, patchwork quilts, plait hair and how to hum and sing. They taught their daughters to take care, to take charge, and to take responsibility. They would not tolerate a 'lazy heifer' or a 'gal with her head in the clouds.' Their daughters had to learn how to get their lessons, how to survive, how to be strong. The women of my grandmother's generation were the glue that held family and the community together. They were the backbone of the church. And of the school. They regarded outside institutions with dislike and distrust. They were determined that their children should survive and they were committed to a better future." (From "Women In Prison: How We Are" by Comrade-Sister Assata Shakur, printed in BLACK SCHOLAR, April 1978)

We became refugees from the National Territory; We came with dreams and We wanted "to forget the past," to forget the oppression and terror, to forget the snarls of red necks and the strange fruit of poplar trees. Far too many of us forgot that the struggle goes on, from one generation to the next. We forgot that We were simply refugees, and not yet free.

The '40's, '50's and even the early '60's were years which saw New Afrikan faces rubbed with Royal Crown so they wouldn't be "ashy"; saw our heads plastered with Murry's, saw noses and lips as repulsive objects in the thin-shaped beauty standards of amerikkka.

These same years saw us move gradually farther from our first stops upon leaving the trains and buses; they saw the families that came north move farther "out south" and into dwellings just abandoned by whites; they saw us move further from each other and the strength which allowed us to survive and maintain the consciousness of ourselves as one people, struggling from one generation to the next, until We are free.

Being colonial subjects situated so near the seat of empire has blurred our vision. Slaves in "the richest country in the world"—while still slaves—are "better off" than slaves elsewhere. Amerikkka is the "big house" of the plantation it has made of a good part of the world. It is more difficult now than in the past, for us to feel acutely the chains that bind us—enough so that We begin again to pass on the history, to begin again to socialize the children and hand down the awareness that comes with being taught the survival/ resistance techniques needed to overcome the obstacles to our independence presented by the settlers who rule.

From one generation to the next is how We must move, until the nation is sovereign.

Build To Win!

Free The Land!

Atiba Shanna, February, 14 ADM

**Organize the
Unorganized
New Afrikan
Masses!**

And we've also known rivers
 here
 The Mississippi and Chattahoochee
The Tugaloo and Chattoogee
 The Pearl and Sabine
The Gulf and Atlantic
 are all rivers we've known—
 here

The rivers and shores, all the
banks along the land
 we've known—

here

Always close to the land
 here
Even while wandering thru the concrete
of the cities
bloods head for parks and beaches
the garbage heaps in vacant lots
be the mountains we be kings of
never forgettin' the land we needin'
the National Territory.